The Commonweal

A Weekly Review of Literature, The Arts and Public Affairs

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THE CALL TO THE CROSS

IN LATER numbers of this journal the editor, who has lately returned from a two months' journey in Europe, will publish a series of articles in which he will summarize a mass of observations, experiences and impressions concerned with the present situation in world affairs. In advance of these more detailed notes, it seems worth while to set forth briefly the main conclusion which he has drawn from his observations and reflections. If it is true—if it is justified by the facts and surmises to be presented in the articles to follow—it cannot be said too often, or with too strong an emphasis. Even if not completely true (which, let us hope and pray, may of course be the case), it does at least indicate the tremendously grave nature of the world situation, and the direction in which Christian energies must proceed in dealing with that situation.

As a preliminary statement by means of which the main conclusion may best be approached, the editor of THE COMMONWEAL returns from nearly two months' travel in England, France, Spain (very briefly there) and Italy, convinced that a new sort of sociological classification is required by the observers of our age. Under such a classification, all men and women may be unevenly divided into two groups. A small number, to be found in all countries, should be called (for lack of a better term, which this discussion may help to find), the "crisis-conscious" people. The rest of the population, of any country, are those for whom what is going on in the world, more especially their own parts of the world, is merely a "depression," or "hard times," or a "war scare," or just one more vaguely defined period of economic, or political, or religious difficulty.

The "crisis-conscious" type are found among all classes of society, from the highest placed to the lowest (just as the other class are found). They differ widely, often radically, in their

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notions as to the causes of the general crisis, and in their ideas (or dreams and hopes) of how the crisis may be solved, or at least safely managed—provided, that is to say, they happen to think a solution or a mitigation is possible: for many of them see nothing ahead for humanity except complete disaster; social chaos; an age of revolutions and wars; a conflict of mobs and Caesars and hordes of barbarians streaming out of Asia and Africa and Russia, even as they did centuries ago. In short, the breakdown of all that has been considered civilization in modern times, and the return of the Dark Ages.

The present writer was a convinced member of the "crisis-conscious" people, long before his recent journey in Europe. Since the World War drenched the earth with blood and fire and poison and tears, and the human spirit suffered such wrenching agonies; when empires toppled and nations disappeared, while others were born, and others again were resurrected—he has quite simply and unwaveringly been of the opinion that we were witnessing nothing less than the death of what has been called modern civilization (roughly speaking, the epoch that was ushered in by the Reformation and the Renaissance), and the life-pangs of some as yet undetermined, and perhaps undeterminable, order (or disorder) of human society.

And he has believed that, fundamentally, radically, unescapably, the crisis was religious. Men had attempted to build their society without God; or, rather, men had tried to be gods. And their new Babels were tumbling down as the old one fell; and once again those who escaped being killed under the toppling towers had been smitten with the plague of divisiveness, the confusion of tongues—racial and national hatreds and jealousies, and insane pride.

In Europe, he found his conviction completely confirmed. Everywhere he went (but especially in London, Paris and Rome), he met and talked with the "crisis-conscious" folk. With men and women of the Church (first of all: for the Church is first in all the forces that count); some of them very highly placed indeed, others humble but (it seemed to him) illuminated priests, and friars, and nuns, and lay servants of the Church. And with men and women of the governmental services; or of the armies; or of various political parties, including revolutionary parties; men of finance, trade, the arts and crafts; social service workers; and writers, from world-celebrated philosophers, historians and publicists to young and as yet unknown artists and journalists and students; together with many men and women of the humbler walks of life: policemen, workmen, waiters, porters, couriers and loafers.

Germany he did not visit on this journey, but concerning it the talk he heard was almost as busily employed in other world centers as with the local problems of these centers (for indeed there are no longer any local concerns save minor ones anywhere in this entagled world of ours). Everywhere else, the net result of views, opinions, comments, guesses, confidential information or mere visionary speculations which he gathered assiduously led him to that point which it is the main business of this brief article, and of the longer ones which are to follow, to state, and to support as strongly as it is possible for him to do, namely, that underlying all other world problems and struggles is the Crisis of Christianity; and that the call has gone forth from the shrine above the tomb of the martyrs who established the Church of Christ that now all compromises are impossible:

Christians belong to the Cross; under that Sign, they may again conquer the world; but if they flee from it, nothing remains but martyrdom and the heroic life for the faithful leaders; and some sort of ghetto, or diaspora, or even catacomb existence, for the scattered remnants of the Christian folk.

It is highly significant, surely, that at the meeting of the German hierarchy at Fulda recently (according to one press account: that of Universal Service; but in this matter as in all others affecting the Church, Catholics will be well advised to await the more belated but more trustworthy accounts of their own press correspondents), "what was tantamount to a call to Catholic clergymen to defend their Church's cause, even to the point of martyrdom, was issued tonight [August 22] at the close of the secret conference of German Catholic prelates at Fulda." Over the heads of the cardinals and bishops and abbots in the crypt of the cathedral the relics of Saint Boniface, the martyred apostle of Germany, were held, as a "symbolic act, showing that German bishops are resolved to follow the example of the saint's heroic fight and death for the cause of Christ."

We think it may also be regarded as symbolic that the Holy Father of Christendom recently held over the heads of all Catholic Christians everywhere the relics of Saint John Fisher and Saint Thomas More; both being martyrs; both having given their lives for the cause of Christ's super-national, super-racial Church, contending against the incarnation of the Caesarism of their age—that Caesarism which has returned today, and is now triumphant in Russia, Turkey, Japan, Mexico, and is fighting for complete power in Germany, and, possibly (tomorrow or soon) in Italy, and whose presence is apparent in every other country in the world, in greater or lesser degree.

Christ or Caesar? This is the question of all questions now before the world.

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Week by Week

CONGRESS, rushing through a mass of hastily considered legislation in order to adjourn speedily, took in its stride efforts made to guarantee by law American neutrality in case of a war abroad. The difficulty with all such proposals is, of course, that the law can be repealed as soon as popular feeling desires; but until then, the President would be bound to respect the rules laid down by Congress. As soon as one has noted this much, the shortcomings of neutrality legislation are clear. It does not prevent the United States from becoming implicated in foreign troubles, and it does express unwillingness to confide in the President's judgment on problems which are almost bound to be complex and difficult. Neutrality is a word of many meanings. One can interpret it as implying unwillingness to engage in any war fought on foreign soil, in which case it amounts to a repudiation of the glorious crusade of 1917. But one may also properly assume that it involves readiness to withdraw the protection of the United States government from those who engage in business with either combatant. In the second instance, the law might stipulate that as soon as two foreign powers had declared war, American safety would cease at the boundaries of the nation. Whether such a measure would prove acceptable to the nation—and whether, indeed, it ought to prove acceptable—is a question hardly answerable in the affirmative.

The Trend of Events

MUSSOLINI'S venture is, of course, essentially a matter of attacking the independence of Ethiopia, a sovereign state which is also a member of the League of Nations. But if it were nothing else besides that, the current excitement would by no means run so high. The sad truth is: scarcely one aspect of European politics remains unaffected by the probability that Italy will be led into a major military effort to initiate what can only be a program of imperialism. At the close of the war, the Continent was definitely under French control. Germany had been weakened and disarmed; most of the new nationalist states were allied under the leadership of Paris; and Italy could be reckoned definitively among the lesser powers. Today all has changed. During the past two years, diplomacy has concentrated on the attempt to unify South Central Europe politically under the tutelage of Mussolini, whose interests in this region are necessarily great. Perhaps the chief stumbling block was the hostile attitude of Jugoslavia, and every effort was made to alter this into friendliness by finding some formula on the basis of which French and Italian policy could agree. So deeply is Paris involved in these maneuvers that freedom is lacking in the sphere of African policy.

Will There Be War?

THE BRITISH have not been too willing to support this European program, the primary object of which is to create virtual unity against Germany. Nevertheless they have generally assented, permitting themselves such minor deviations as the separate naval agreement with Germany. For England the Mediterranean and North Africa are of greater importance than the Continent. Italian imperialistic action in the Dark Continent must profoundly modify British policy, which seems based on the desire to withdraw from actual political control of territory while retaining, under the form of "dominion relations," those economic and cultural advantages which it covets. We cannot help thinking that, if it had to choose, Great Britain would drop the Continent in order to protect the Mediterranean. Of course this does not necessarily mean a war with Italy, which no Britisher wants and which not even a totally desperate Fascism would be likely to seek. But it does mean that everything possible will be done to obstruct the energies of Il Duce, whose task therewith becomes more difficult. It may, indeed, prove so difficult that the Fascist experiment in Italy cannot survive the strain. And what will happen then? We are informed that French diplomats have already succeeded in getting Russia to adopt a more outspoken European policy. It is rumored that if Mussolini gets seriously in trouble, Moscow is prepared to state that no alteration of the Central European status will be tolerated. If that were done, the Continent would have taken one more step toward war. The situation existing in 1914 would have been reproduced almost exactly, though the difference in relative strength between then and now is tremendous.

Alberta's Opportunity

THE SWEEPING electoral victory of the Social Credit League in Alberta, far-flung province of farmers in Western Canada, may have considerable bearing on the outcome of the important dominion elections of October 14. The Reconstruction party, headed by H. H. Stevens, outspoken foe of big business, had not been conceded a chance, but now, although time is short, there is talk of a merger with the Social Credit party in the coming election. Dr. Hewlett Johnson, dean of Canterbury, England, will visit Canada in October to organize the Social Credit League throughout the dominion. Primarily the significance of the Alberta election is the opportunity

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it affords for constructive social experiment. Major Douglas is coming over from England to assist in the inauguration of the new scheme whereby every one of the province's 750,000 inhabitants over sixteen years of age is to receive a "basic dividend" of from $5 to $75 a month. The funds required are to be raised by levies similar to our processing taxes and additional taxes on unearned income. The flight of capital from Alberta has already begun.

WILLIAM ABERHART, leader of the movement, is described in a North American Newspaper Alliance dispatch as one who combines "the doctrines and methods of Aimee Semple McPherson and Dr. F. E. Townsend." Indeed it is hardly probable that Mr. Aberhart's scheme is completely developed as yet, but it is a mistake to dismiss the entire program too summarily. The persistence and aggravation of unemployment and relief problems in the United States despite marked business recovery tend to heighten the suspicion that the present capitalistic dispensation may not provide an acceptable solution of our pressing social problems. The well-intentioned administration formula of social insurance, shorter hours and public works is, as a permanent solution, unconvincing to many of both the Right and the Left. Whatever practical suggestions are the outcome of the impending Alberta experiment should be most welcome. At the same time we should not lose sight of the extensive program of rehabilitation being quietly and efficiently carried on in another Canadian province, Nova Scotia. Under the guidance of the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University of Antigonish a cooperative movement—in agriculture, fishing and industry—is gradually building up an economic order truly in harmony with the principles envisioned in recent papal encyclicals.

The Waters of the Earth

EVERY so often we receive a demonstration that water is the oldest element, the most savage and powerful, and the most unpredictable; and it leaves us in a state of mind in which we must struggle against the half-memory of early pagan times, which viewed the deep as a malign personal force, to be propitiated and avoided. Even such a phenomenon as the recent behavior of the geysers in Yellowstone Park, where for an entire month the ordinary reliable program of eruptions has been broken through by all sorts of ill-natured grumblings and unscheduled belchings forth, is enough to give pause to the thoughtful watcher or reader. How much more so the visitation which has just descended upon the seaport of Genoa in Italy! A waterspout coming out of nowhere traveled into that ancient harbor, tossing ships about, tearing even the lordly Conte di Savoia from her moorings, reducing the smaller quays to matchwood, wounding some threescore persons and killing six outright. There are only two things for the generality of mankind to do in the face of such a catastrophe, which overwhelms like the deluge or the Last Judgment: say their prayers and run. The scientist and the sailor may take it with the calm bred of knowledge and custom; but the rest of us, ordinary unlessoned creatures on whose superstition and terror no such allaying hand has been set, merely know that we have once more met the naked mood of the dread and mysterious earth.

For the Honor Roll

IT SEEMS to us that one very fine and effective lesson in civic ideals fails, generally, to receive the emphasis which is its due. We refer to the type of self-respect and civic honor which prompts certain persons or communities to do the hard thing at their own expense rather than accept the easy thing at government expense. There have been cases scattered throughout the country of individuals who made a struggle as sustained and heroic as that of pioneers of a far-flung frontier, rather than accept the proffered public relief that their friends and neighbors were accepting. There have been other cases of families who, when a resumption of regular jobs made relief no longer necessary, saved painfully from their tiny new salaries to pay back what they had received; though no repayment was expected. The latest example on this roll of honor is the town of Gilroy in California, which has completed the replacement of its water works on P.W.A. funds for less than the sum allotted, and has returned to the government the excess of about $1,500 saved thereby. In a time when a certain form of panhandling from government has become respectable, and the sense of obligation and responsibility is correspondingly blunted—which is the price that must always be paid for relief—these are not merely instances of thrift and industry. They indicate reserves of conscience and character which have become much rarer than they should be, and which might well top any list of desirable traits compiled by civic experts. It is our suggestion that a serious effort be made to spread the news of such people and acknowledge their example officially. The press can be counted upon to publish their stories; but besides that, they should receive repeated mention as a matter of course and duty from leaders of opinion, teachers and public officials—mention of the sort calculated to define them for what they are, civic virtue on a very high level, and to spread their beneficent contagion.

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YOUTH IN TABASCO

By E. R. PINEDA

The strange career of Garrido y Canabal was one of the outstanding features of the violent government of Mexico under former President Calles. How such a man as Garrido could be the political force he was often puzzled those of us who did not have any direct knowledge of him, and it is therefore enlightening to have these simple annals of one who did. Now the star of Garrido would seem to have set. And the opposition to him, Mr. Pineda believes, is establishing orderly constitutional government.—The Editors.

I HAVE never been in Tabasco and perhaps for this reason, as well as for others, I should not write about it. Yet, I believe I understand what is going on there at present for it was my good fortune some ten years ago, while living at International House, to fall in with a young native of Tabasco who was particularly well-informed about conditions in his home state. I found he had written a very original dissertation for his law degree on the relationship between the Spanish and the Indian elements in Mexico, and, having been thrust into contact at one time with little known aspects of Mexico and with a diametrically opposed culture during his sojourn in New York, he spoke illuminatingly of his native state and of his country as a whole.

It turned out that his father and mine had been acquaintances if not friends. Mexico, after all, is a very small place and highly centralized. Besides, as the Spanish saying runs, "God makes them and they get together." Our fathers were, I am afraid, "reactionaries" with a good deal in common, namely Spanish bluntness, considerable courage and a certain admiration devoid of slavishness for Diaz. The friendship of the families, so we felt, was soon renewed in this generation and we found a good deal to talk about. In fact, almost every day we would meet and hold long conversations, which invariably converged, whatever the beginning, upon politics and sociology.

One day my friend showed me a letter from home. It was a report from his uncle, who acted as manager of a farm the family had inherited, a coconut farm the father had bought and developed after years of work and effort. The manager had found a number of Indians squatting on the land during one of his tours of inspection, and my friend suspected that the governor of the state, Garrido y Canabal, had had them brought there. He did not mind them very much, however, and gave instructions to let them alone as long as they committed no depredations. On another occasion a letter he showed me informed him that his uncle had been arrested. I was puzzled, but my friend, reading my thoughts, explained to me with a bitter smile that his uncle had been arrested, not by the authorities, but by the local union of farm hands, who had made all sorts of threats against the farm and the manager unless he directed at once an increase in wages. My friend's uncle, of course, had to comply with their request and he had hardly got back to the farm when a delegation from the municipality presented itself demanding work for some twenty men with a proviso that, if the manager could not employ them, they would seize the farm and work it for their own account, turning over the proceeds, if any, to the owners. His uncle, so my friend informed me, had to comply again with the request.

I must confess I was puzzled by these incredible stories and rather dubious about them. Yet, I could not reject them. Through intimate contact with my young countryman I had found him to be not only truthful, but remarkably accurate. Besides, the evidence before me was in the nature of an exhibit, and it was corroborated shortly afterward by another young native of Tabasco, who came to visit him for a few days. He confirmed substantially whatever my friend had told me and added a wealth of accounts about various commercial firms that had gone out of business or had moved to neighboring states unable to meet the taxes and the various labor laws. Further corroboration was soon to follow. My friend some time later showed me a pamphlet containing an accusation against the governor of Tabasco made by two representatives before the Mexican Federal Congress. It was not a sensational lampoon such as abounds in Spanish America. It was factual and thoroughly documented and it contained facsimiles and several reproductions of gruesome photographs. My friend's story about the Indian squatters was not only confirmed in the official accusation, but there was an interesting detail added to it. The Indians, apparently, were quite satisfied with their village, and in order to force them to leave the governor had had their huts and crops set on fire.

Nothing came of this accusation in Congress. The governor continued in office unmolested. He became a federal senator at one time and, at the end of his term, went back to Tabasco and continued to rule the state as he had before, so I afterward learned. About this time my young

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countryman informed me of a new law the state of Tabasco had passed by virtue of which an employer was allowed to hire as many extra workmen as he wanted, provided he carried them the whole year on his payroll. My friend complained to me about the hardship of this law. "You see," he explained, "during the dead season there is very little work on the farms of the state and with a few men we have more than enough to keep up the property, but at harvest time we have to engage a large number of extra help who are usually contracted only for the harvest."

Shortly after the last conversation I called on my friend and found him very busy looking up his codes and the Constitution. He was bringing proceedings before our Supreme Court to get a revision of the latest tax assessment. The year before, he explained to me, he had only paid about 50 percent of the present taxes and as things were he felt that the earnings of the farm could not stand a heavier assessment.

I believe it was the consideration that it was his duty to watch over the farm that prompted him to return, and he went back to Mexico City, not to Tabasco, where, I understood, his life would be in danger. A year ago he came unexpectedly to New York. We had long talks again of Tabasco and once more he spoke sorrowfully about the farm, the main source of revenue of the family. "In normal times," he confided, "the farm would yield a substantial income, but now there are years when we get no profit and sometimes there is even a loss." I felt sorry for him, but I could not but think of a broader aspect of the question. The result of the various land and labor laws has been to force Mexicans to sell out to foreigners, who have the additional protection of international law, so that through a paradox of fate a nationalistic revolution has put the resources of the country in the hands of aliens.

My friend talked on and told me a story of his native state. There was a farmer in Tabasco who had also a number of launches plying up and down the Grijalva River, one of the very few navigable streams throughout Mexico. His son, a boy in his teens, helped the father in his business. One day his launch was taken away from him by armed men. The boy saw them later steaming up the river and, fearful lest they should be going to arrest his father, he chartered a faster boat and sped to the farm. The father took warning and fled. The armed force then was unable to arrest him, but they found the young son there and suspected he had warned his father. They, therefore, stood the boy against a wall and shot him dead. Then for good measure they wrecked the farmhouse and touched a match to the crops which, in a hot, dry climate such as Tabasco has, burned like tinder.

I gasped incredulously during the recital but my informant did not allow me to interrupt him. The poor farmer, he went on, fled from one state of Mexico to another. Wherever he went the government of Tabasco would try to have him extradited, until my friend contested the extradition before the Supreme Court, which decided for his client on the grounds there was no constitutional government in Tabasco. "Just fancy," my countryman observed, "even the Supreme Court took judicial notice of conditions in my home state!" To conclude, my friend's client took up farming in the state of Vera Cruz, near the Tabasco border, where he lived until he was murdered by a gang that crossed over from the neighboring state.

I was given to understand, moreover, that there was little hope of improving conditions in the state. The terroristic tactics of the Garrido machine were such, in fact, that if anyone went to Tabasco to organize an opposition, no hotel keeper would give him a room nor would any landlord lease him a house, once the purpose of his visit was known, for fear of reprisals by the gang. Nor were these conditions unknown to the federal government. Indeed, my friend and others had written Calles and other officials about them.

Nothing worth mention concerning Tabasco came to my notice until last winter I received from an anonymous source I guessed at once, a booklet, "La revolución en Tabasco," by one Joaquín Ruiz, a former governor of the state. He launched into no general accusations or impassioned diatribes. His work was factual. He listed some eighteen thefts and forty-two murders, giving in every case dates, places and names, and he invited all those that considered themselves better informed to refute the charges which he made.

At last I understood exactly how the Garrido machine worked. He organized all the manual and office workers into compulsory unions known as leagues, thus controlling labor and taking a heavy toll in the way of dues. At the same time employers were compelled to hire their workers from the official employment agencies under pain of boycott, sabotage and other reprisals. In addition, of course, there were strong arm men, gangsters and killers, who enforced his laws by more direct methods and also levied extra legal taxes. There were no privileged classes. If the landowners and industrialists had been forced to seek refuge outside Tabasco, the workmen too had fled in great numbers. Indeed, a prosperous settlement of the laboring classes had sprung up in Minatitlán, Vera Cruz.

The pamphlet contained, to be sure, a full account of Garrido's "defanaticizing campaign": the burning of religious objects, the razing of

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churches, the new calendar. The religious feasts have been replaced by lay celebrations: the orange fair, the banana fair, the fair of the milch cow. The new dispensation gives promise of stupendous possibilities. Fancy the soulful poet of the new order stirring the masses with an inspired ode on St. Milch-Cow's day! Yet, what I found most interesting in the whole pamphlet was a reprint on page 49 from the *Banana,* a Socialist paper, of June 30, 1929. It is really a literary monument, the first recorded instance that has come to my notice of this genre of revolutionary literature. Not that the "smutty" story is a creation of the Mexican Revolution. Doubtless it is of ancient origin, but since the Revolution, more precisely since about 1916, a distinct revolutionary species developed in which the religious and the clergy are the heroes. This oral literature, for it is mostly oral, constitutes one of the most effective and insidious attacks upon the Church.

I again put Tabasco out of my thoughts until the downfall of Calles last June. Garrido y Canabal resigned from the Cabinet and went back with his Red Shirts to his native state. Had he lost power with the passing of Calles from the political arena? His Red Shirts had shot down some Catholics last December and there was talk now they would be prosecuted. The report was ominous, but no further developments ensued and it was not until July 15 that the activities of the Garrido machine revived in my mind painful memories.

I read the account of that date with growing alarm and anxiety. I might have guessed. My friend was mentioned there, Rodolfo Brito Foucher. He had flown from Mexico City to Villa Hermosa, the state capital, with a party of some twenty students that had been living in exile in order to fight Garrido in the coming elections. The machine had annoyed the students from the beginning, forcing Brito Foucher to barricade himself in a private house. The light was cut off, but he had not given up. He ordered the students to look for other quarters and it was then that sub-machine guns were fired upon them from an automobile, killing several of the students almost instantly.

The shooting was hardly news for Tabasco, but something else is news, front page news, in fact, both for Tabasco and Mexico. According to the latest dispatches, a representative of the Attorney General has arrived in Villa Hermosa to conduct an investigation, while the former commander of the federal forces, accused of failing to protect the students, has been replaced by General Miguel Enríquez and a regiment of infantry has been sent to reenforce the troops at Villa Hermosa. More, the Senate, acting under Article 76, Section V, of the Constitution, declared the government of Tabasco unconstitutional and appointed Aurelio Calles—no relation of Pultarco Elías Calles—provisional governor in substitution for Lastra Ortiz, Garrido's cousin and tool.

This is all part, to be sure, of the traditional policy of flattening out the losing faction. The *Callistas* are being eliminated, but this time the methods are more constitutional than under any revolutionary president. Besides, the policy of the government is now justified and constitutes a unique instance of protection being afforded the opposition.

The events in Tabasco are both significant and symbolical. As if by magic they make Brito Foucher the most commanding figure of the opposition. They presage a new era. They reveal youth and growth, growth that is both wholesome and unusually rapid, growth in youth and in the country and, let us say in all conscience, growth in the country's president.

Of All the Days

Of all the days he had breathed through,
That was the fragrantest, he knew.

It had simple parts to it.
A door stood open just a bit.

Beyond was sunlight. It was hot,
The locusts keyed up past all thought.

He was beginning now to drowse.
The tinkling bells of far-off cows

Were ringing in behind his mind,
The bright outdoors had made him blind.

The world was only gentle bells,
A breeze came in with hayfield smells,

So sharp, so clean, he knew he could
Not fall asleep now if he would.

He leaned towards some vast surprise,
But must not once open his eyes,

Must not sit up wide awake.
White clover made his being ache,

Honey of clover mown this hour.
He was a peace, a hymn, a power.

He was an everlasting part
Of the hot world's beating heart.

For one moment he was one
With lips at the bosom of the sun.

ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN.

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ENGLAND'S INTERNAL POLITICS

By ROBERT T. BOWER

THE PRESENT political situation in England is of especial interest, particularly because a general election must by law take place by October, 1936, and will probably come much sooner, either in the late autumn or early spring. The secret of when it will take place remains locked in the bosom of Mr. Baldwin, the Prime Minister, whose prerogative and duty it is to advise the King when to dissolve Parliament. Mr. Baldwin, who encourages the idea that he is an honest and not too intelligent John Bull, is actually one of the astutest politicians in Europe and it can be taken for granted that when he does fight an electoral battle it will be on carefully chosen ground.

English political alignments at the present time are peculiar. Ever since the great Liberal victory at the polls in 1906, the coming of the Labor party has been an increasingly disturbing factor in a political system which for two hundred years evolved on a two-party basis. The rapid rise of Labor as a political force, greatly accelerated by the war, leaves no doubt that Great Britain is going through one of those political upheavals which have occurred almost regularly every century or so. It is impossible to forecast what the outcome will be, but the present political alignment, namely, a "National" coalition composed largely of Conservatives, about half the Liberal party and a sprinkling of Labor versus an Opposition comprising the bulk of the Socialist-Labor party, is an indication that the two-party idea dies hard and is likely, for the present at least, to remain unshaken. The above alignment leaves out of account the remnant of the Liberal party, led by Sir Herbert Samuel. Their attitude is predominantly hostile to the present government though bitterly opposed to Socialism. The general opinion, however, is that their electoral prospects are poor and that they will almost be wiped out at the polls.

Outside the political ring, but ready for the fray, is Mr. Lloyd George, whose position is a peculiar one, his present following in the House of Commons consisting of his son and daughter and one other adherent. At the time of the last general election, in 1931, which resulted in the return of the National government with such a huge majority, Mr. Lloyd George was laid low by a severe illness and was unable to take part in the struggle; consequently when he returned to the House of Commons he found himself relegated to comparative obscurity from which, until recently, he has only seen fit to emerge at rare intervals.

Mr. Lloyd George's career has been a varied one. The young Welsh-speaking radical lawyer, fiercely intolerant of the privileged classes and bitterly opposed to his own country during the South African War, became in turn the flail of the wealthy, the developer of social services and finally the principal organizer of victory in the World War. To him more than any other individual the workers of Britain owe the fact that annual expenditure on social services such as health insurance, old age pensions and other benefits has increased from some £9,000,000 to nearly £400,000,000. Had he chosen, after the signing of the Armistice, to retire from active political life, his name would have gone down to posterity as the greatest of British statesmen, and he might have emerged from retirement as virtual dictator in an emergency such as the present. But he remained in politics at the head of a more or less "war-time" coalition until in 1922 the Conservative party broke away and Mr. Lloyd George fell. At the fateful Conservative party meeting which decided on this step it was the speech of Mr. Baldwin, then a comparatively unknown politician, which carried the day.

With the decline of Mr. Lloyd George's star, that of Mr. Baldwin came into the ascendant and has remained so, but for a temporary eclipse, ever since. Mr. Lloyd George, though, has never forgotten that the present Prime Minister was the principal cause of his downfall, nor that the Conservative party are his traditional enemies.

For the first three years of the present government's life he held aloof and divided his time between writing memoirs and improving his farm in Surrey, both of which pursuits could be abandoned at a moment's notice were the political situation to develop favorably; but no such thing happened. The defection of Sir Herbert Samuel with about half the Liberals in 1933 left the coalition unshaken; then conditions began to improve, export trade figures mounted, unemployment decreased by hundreds of thousands, everywhere a new spirit of confidence began to spring up. Simultaneously with this improvement, however, people began to realize that the life of the present Parliament was becoming short and they began to discuss the future. How would the coming electoral battle be fought? Should we return to the old party politics or should the National government fight again as a coalition?

Many theories were advanced, but perhaps the most popular was a suggestion that a new National government should be formed on a some-

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what broader basis than that of the present one. Supporters of this idea felt that political memories are short and that it is programs rather than past records which appeal to the mass of the electorate. The present government should infuse itself with new blood and then appeal to the country saying: "The National government to which you entrusted your destinies by such an enormous majority in 1931 have completed the first part of their task. We have balanced the budget, brought new confidence into trade and industry, reduced unemployment by nearly a million and by creating cheap money have created conditions favorable for carrying out an expansionist policy. To do this, however, we must ask the country for a new lease of life." A reconstructed government would then fight an election on a carefully prepared expansionist program.

With "reconstruction" in the air, Mr. Lloyd George's name was bound to come to the fore, and it seemed as if the long-sought opportunity was at hand. So the complicated machinery of political maneuver was set in motion and soon the purlieus of Fleet Street and the whispering gallery of Westminster began to murmur with rumors that the "Welsh wizard" was about to emerge from retirement. He would not be averse, it was said, to joining a reconstructed National government, and placing before them certain proposals which, with the aid of many eminent men, he had been preparing for some years. It was even reported that he had been to Mr. Baldwin and offered to serve under him if Mr. Ramsay MacDonald could be got rid of. If this were true, Mr. Lloyd George probably had little thought that his offer would be accepted.

He is, however, an extremely astute tactician and his carefully worked up campaign made it impossible for the government to ignore him. Consequently the Cabinet agreed to appoint a sub-committee to investigate his proposals, no details of which had as yet been made public. Weeks elapsed during which Mr. Lloyd George's subterranean campaign continued; then, as most people had foreseen, it began to be rumored that his proposals were not acceptable to the Cabinet sub-committee. At this moment Mr. Lloyd George, in conjunction with prominent members of the Free Churches, issued a manifesto, "For Peace and Reconstruction," and called together a convention to be held in London. The new move, however, was not so successful as had been hoped. The Free Churches are strong in Britain, especially in the north and in Wales, but although on the whole Nonconformity tends to the Left in politics, there is a solid core of supporters of the present government in them who at once began to make their voice heard, doubting the wisdom of the Free Churches associating themselves with a movement which although avowedly non-party would be certain to develop partizan characteristics. The convention decided, however, to set up councils in every constituency, and to frame a questionnaire based on Mr. Lloyd George's proposals to be submitted to all candidates at the forthcoming election. Those whose answers were unfavorable would not receive the support of the councils. The question as to whether "Lloyd George" candidates should be nominated was left undecided.

Meantime the Cabinet had decisively rejected Mr. Lloyd George's proposals in a comprehensive and reasoned document of some 16,000 words. The proposals taken in conjunction with the government's comments reveal a fundamental difference in mentality. Mr. Lloyd George has always been a spender and a showman. To him solid, unostentatious progress means apathy and worse. His mind, formed during the great spending period of 1906-1918, when his undoubted successes were so largely due to the art of the showman, cannot adjust itself to the groping empirical methods of a disillusioned age. He still wants fireworks. On the government side Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Walter Runciman, President of the Board of Trade, stand four-square against any such policy. It is no exaggeration to say that Mr. Lloyd George's new ship has foundered between the Scylla of Mr. Chamberlain's financial purism and the Charybdis of Mr. Runciman's cold economic realism.

Briefly, Mr. Lloyd George's proposals are to the effect that the present British Cabinet is too large and that a "war cabinet" of four should be appointed to fight unemployment; a "Prosperity Loan" of £250,000,000 should then be raised for spending on works of national reconstruction. For the protection of agriculture and the settling of 500,000 men on the land, he recommends drastic tariffs against imported foodstuffs coupled with a great national policy for growing more food at home. Housing, he suggests, should be dealt with by setting up central and regional boards which would provide good houses for all at low rents. He would also raise the school-leaving age from fourteen to fifteen, and give adequate retiring pensions to all at the age of sixty.

To this, the government reply that the proposed "war cabinet" would divorce policy from administration and that the proposed loan would cause severe financial dislocation and would be deflationary in character. They describe the agricultural proposals as a hazardous and uncertain adventure which would gravely disturb empire trade relations, reduce export trade and raise the price of food. Retiring pensions at the age of sixty would cost, they remark, about £100,000,000 a year. In this analysis the government have not

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been slow to seize the opportunity to make clear to the country what their policy has been and is.

In 1931, they point out, the main task was the restoration of confidence by drastic economies leading to balanced budgets. By the middle of 1932 this was done, and there followed the protection of home industry by tariffs, and the foundation of a system of cheap and plentiful money. The conversion of war debt further helped this process; production increased, employment rose and a great era in housing development began. Trade agreements with the dominions and with foreign countries materially increased export trade. They point out that, while objecting to Mr. Lloyd George's "Prosperity Loan," money is so cheap that there is nothing to prevent any sound and solid scheme from obtaining finance. Needless to say, Mr. Lloyd George strongly dissents from the government's findings, and he will be in the forefront of the battle in the political arena.

As for the official opposition, the Labor-Socialists, the shattering defeat of 1931 left them in a parlous condition in the House of Commons. With all their leaders defeated, their debating power was so weak that they have had a hard struggle to keep the flag flying. Their very weakness in Parliament, however, has been their strength in the country, and there is no doubt that they have made great progress among the electorate. They have rejected Mr. Lloyd George's proposals decisively as mere palliatives, stoutly maintaining that in Socialism they have a better remedy. Whether they will have the courage to fight the next election on an out-and-out socialist program remains to be seen. The extremists such as Sir Stafford Cripps are all among the "intellectuals," and the Labor party is predominantly a trades union party, the great unions holding the purse strings. Trade union Members of Parliament are inclined to be moderate, acutely concious that the majority of union members are not Socialists, and that a Labor victory followed by a Socialist policy might well wreck the unions.

Meanwhile the political armies are maneuvering into position for the battle of the polls. As usual the government are saving their declaration of policy until later so as not to give their opponents too long in which to pull it to pieces. This, of course, gives the opposition parties their chance to twit the government with having no policy at all, and their newspapers are harping on this theme daily. When the time comes the National parties are quite certain to lose a large number of seats which they could only hope to win in a landslide such as occurred in 1931. As far as it is possible to predict, however, the National government should return with a sufficient majority to ensure a further term of office.

ARISTOTLE IN PARK ROW

By WILLIAM THOMAS WALSH

THE GREEK thinker who (with Saint Augustine, let us not forget) supplied Saint Thomas with a foundation on which to raise a more sublime philosophy, has been in his grave for something like twenty-three centuries, but I like to think that he has an abode somewhere in the Isles of the Blessed from which he can still see the pageantry of human life, and can derive some comfort from the thought that he was of great service, posthumously, to the Catholic Church. I like to think that Saint Brendan, perhaps, found him one day examining certain curious sea-shells on the shores of Tir n'an-Og, and, on learning who he was, took Saint Thomas to spend an afternoon with him. What a conversation that would be to listen to! But there are other times when I begrudge the old Stagirite his rest, and wish that God would let him come back and take a job as a book reviewer or dramatic critic on one of the New York dailies. He is sorely needed there.

Meanwhile his brief and pithy summary of the principles of dramatic composition, in fact, of literary composition in general, is still the code of last resort for criticism of the more judicious kind, whenever a discussion arises over literary standards. It is astonishing that no one can write or think very much about criticism without being obliged to go back and see what the old tutor of Alexander the Great had to say. And whenever a first-rate critic arises, such as Brunetière, the great French convert to the Faith, or Coleridge (who read the "Summa"), or Arnold, or in our own day Babbitt or Paul Elmer More, he is pretty sure to be found fairly in accord with Aristotle on most of the essentials of criticism. For there is permanence in truth, and Aristotle got a pretty clear view of it within the limits he set for himself.

First of all he would clarify the critical problem by kicking out of doors all the subjectivistic nonsense of Benedetto Croce and the host of his American imitators and disciples, such as Major Spingarn, who made the judicious grieve and the Philistines rejoice a few years ago by declaring that there were only two questions to be considered by a critic about any work of art: (1) What did the author intend to do? (2) How well did he

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do it? This would have seemed sheer nonsense to Aristotle, for he believed in objective rules independent of the artist—not rules to be slavishly followed and imitated, but laws of harmony imposed by human nature itself and by the aims and effects of various kinds of composition. He would have considered the modern claim that art has nothing to do with morality too puerile for discussion, for he took it to be axiomatic that the arts existed for the sake of human beings, and that human beings were moral beings. "The objects of imitation," he wrote, "are the actions of men, and those men must necessarily be either good or bad, for on this does character principally depend." The "sentiments" of tragedy, he says elsewhere, should be "such things as are true and proper." Again, "a vicious character should never be the hero of a tragedy; for this is most opposed to the genius of tragedy, having no one property that it ought to have, for it is neither gratifying in a moral view, nor affecting, nor terrible." And since art exists for the sake of human life and not for its own sake, a poet drawing the manners of a passionate man, for instance, "should attempt to make his character approach goodness rather than what is hard and ferocious." Aristotle was a pagan, but he would be considerably astonished to find that "paganism" in modern times generally connotes sympathy for depravity and contempt for right reason.

I am afraid that a great many modern plays which have been highly praised by metropolitan critics would be briefly disposed of by this incomparable reviewer. In general he would find the "sentiments" of Ibsen's perverse characters displeasing and unnatural. He would probably find very little virtue in experimental "social" plays, such as Hauptmann's "Weavers," for he insisted that the most important element of a play was the fable or plot which must concern some action that is "important, entire, and of a proper magnitude. . . . The manners of men constitute only their qualities and character, but it is by their actions that they are happy or the contrary. Tragedy . . . does not imitate action for the sake of imitating manners, but in the imitation of action that of manners is of course involved; so that the action and the fable are the end of tragedy; and in everything the end is of principal importance."

In a brief statement in the "Poetics" he effectively demolishes all the fallacies of the freak schools of painting of our time—the Cubists, the Dadaists, and some of the proletarian theorists who manage to see human nature in such gross and earthy forms. Always assuming that the purpose of art is to give a maximum of pleasure, not of mental torture, to normal human nature, he observes that "in painting, the most brilliant colors spread at random and without design will give far less pleasure than the simple outlines of a figure."

But his most devastating judgment would fall, perhaps, on some of the novels which have become the most influential medium of literary expression in our times. Whether or not he would agree with Mr. Belloc that the form itself is a hybrid, and cannot long endure, he would certainly object to some of our best sellers, if not on moral, surely on artistic grounds. Of "Anthony Adverse," for example, he unconsciously wrote some 2,300 years ago, "the fable (or plot) is not one, as some conceive it to be, merely because the hero is one, for numberless events happen to one man, many of which cannot be connected into one event; and so likewise there are many actions of one man which cannot be connected into any one action. Hence appears the mistake of all those poets who have composed 'Herculeids,' 'Thesieds,' and other poems of that kind. They conclude that because Hercules was one, so also must be the fable of which he is the subject. But Homer among his many other excellencies seems also to have been perfectly aware of this mistake. For when he composed his 'Odyssey,' he did not introduce all the events of his hero's life, such for instance as the wound that he received upon Parnassus, and his feigned madness when the Grecian army was assembling—events not connected either by necessity or probability; but he comprehended those only which have relation to one action; for such we call that of the 'Odyssey.' . . . The fable should be an imitation of an action that is one and entire, the parts of it being so connected that if any one of them be either transposed or taken away, the whole will be destroyed or changed."

He would apply the same measuring stick, and I think with a vengeance, to James Joyce's monstrosity, "Ulysses." When speaking of poets, of course, he meant makers of literature and authors in general. It is safe to say that the venerable gentleman would find very little virtue in the whole school of naturalistic realism from Zola to Proust, and the imitators of Flaubert and Zola in this country, such as Theodore Dreiser and Sinclair Lewis. For it is not the poet's province, said Aristotle, "to relate such things as have actually happened. . . . History relates what has been; poetry what might be." Of the two, poetry he found "more philsophical and excellent," for it concerns general truth while history has to do only with the particular. Most of modern realistic fiction, therefore, he would probably classify as "history" or journalism rather than art.

Aristotle in the editorial department of a New York daily would be a great boon to the general reader, and I think to the community, though possibly not to some of the publishers.

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STUDENTS' MISSION CRUSADE

By AULEEN BORDEAUX EBERHARDT

PICTURESQUE Dubuque, Iowa, has just witnessed one of the most unusual and most thought-provoking gatherings in American Catholic history, the ninth biennial national convention of the Catholic Students' Mission Crusade which convened there August 6, 7 and 8.

Today, when various leaders of nations are grasping out greedily for the control of youth, to sway young hearts and minds to an exclusively political and economic manner of thinking, shutting out all reference to spiritual things, the attendance at this strictly religious gathering was notable. There were 600 delegates, from every state in the union, and more than 1,000 visitors.

The Apostolic Delegate, His Excellency the Most Reverend Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, addressed the convention at its opening session. He brought greetings from the Holy Father and gave the Papal Benediction. His masterly discourse on "Catholic Missions and Catholic Action," delivered before an audience of some 5,000 people, gave proof of the attitude of the Church toward this tremendous youth movement, which now includes over 500,000 members.

Twenty archbishops and bishops came to Dubuque at the invitation of Archbishop Francis Joseph Beckman, chairman of the Executive Board of the Catholic Students' Mission Crusade, and one of its founders. A great assembly of priests, including more than twenty-four directors for the Society of the Propagation of the Faith, and a large number of missionary Sisters, catechists and members of teaching Sisterhoods attended the meeting. The Missionary Exposition in Loras Hall, Columbia College gymnasium, resembled a miniature world's fair. Thirty Catholic organizations engaged in missionary work in home and foreign fields had exhibits.

There were pageantry and decorations, but the forceful feature of the convention was vitalizing youth. To see throngs of students actuated with a single desire—the spread of their religion—was a sight calculated to bring new life and renewed courage to those fearful of the influence of the present age. Archbishop Beckman, in his address of welcome, sounded the keynote of the whole convention when he said: "The modern rebellion of youth against authority, especially religious authority, has not received even a moment's consideration from Catholic youth."

The Catholic students gathered at the convention were not concerned with fomenting national upheaval, or spouting revolutionary doctrines. They were high spirited, but sane young citizens, intent on getting as much as they could out of life, but at the same time, trying to save their own souls and the souls of others. They were normal boys and girls, cultured, well-bred, clever and alert, but they were not fanatical. To the discussions on the spread of religion at their student sessions they brought inspirational enthusiasm and clear thinking.

Nor was there anything antiquated about these young Crusaders. As Archbishop Beckman stated, "Crusaders are not committed to forms of government nor to standards of living that have been relegated to the scrap heaps of the world's failures and experiments. But neither are Crusaders deluded by the fools who identify progress and modernity with nakedness and sex and extortion and the denial of the spiritual. Crusaders believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ and the Church He founded; and think that the really big job of each man, and of every generation of men, consists in applying the immutable truths and undying principles He taught to the changing circumstances of life."

Monsignor Frank A. Thill of Cincinnati, executive secretary of the Crusade, presided at the convention sessions, and under his deft, firm touch, student talent came to light in a way that thrilled the hundreds of visitors. Zeal for the missions spread like a contagion through the convention. Adult visitors caught something of the assembly's spirit. The youthful Crusaders were like the "good leaven, enleavening the whole dead mass."

An outstanding thing about Crusade conventions is the impetus given vocations. Archbishop John T. McNicholas, president of the Crusade, who preached at the pontifical Mass celebrated by the Apostolic Delegate, said: "America cannot give to the missions too many chosen and tried vocations." He thus defined the program of the organization: "to pray for the missions, to study the missions, to make sacrifices for the missions."

The Catholic Students' Mission Crusade is seventeen years old. It was founded by some 30 students. Today 500,000 students march under its banner. It has its national headquarters at Crusade Castle, Cincinnati. From its ranks have come many priests, Brothers and Sisters now laboring in the mission field. It is a member of a pontifical society with the Cardinal-Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith as its protector. It is, perhaps, America's most powerful Catholic youth movement. Its ranks are steadily increasing; it draws into its membership the enthusiastic, intelligent, spirited and industrious students who are far-sighted enough to recognize that by helping the missions they are repaying America's debt of gratitude to the priests who braved the perils of sea and land to establish the Church in the New World. One of the highlights of the convention was the trip up the Mississippi, following the trails of the missionaries of long ago, made by the Papal Delegate, the archbishops and bishops and 2,000 delegates and visitors.

Archbishop Beckman summed up the purpose and the work of the young Crusaders when he declared in his report to the convention that "on every front where the Church militant lies entrenched, Crusaders are fighting under the banner of the Cross. They are sharing in every diocese of our land in the religious offensive which Christ's Vicar has called Catholic Action. The constitutional flexibility of the movement permits every bishop to use his own Crusaders as shock-troops or reserves in any effort to conquer souls for Christ. And it is precisely this utter dependance of the Crusade upon the local Ordinary in each diocese that constitutes its strength and and explains its success."

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Seven Days' Survey

The Church.—The Holy Father has asked for special prayers for the catechumens in the mission fields of the Church today. Nearly 2,000,000 of them are in Africa and 500,000 in Asia. His Holiness asks for prayers that they be well founded in faith and morals, that they persevere and become good Catholics and that their numbers may increase. * * * At the Franciscan lay retreat house near Hinsdale, Illinois, 800 workers for towel supply houses in Chicago are to make a retreat together in October. * * * The Most Reverend Arthur Hinsley, Archbishop of Westminster, has given instructions with regard to the Ethiopian crisis that prayers for peace be recited at every Mass in his archdiocese. * * * The annual meeting of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul at Chester, England, was attended by 2,000 members; it was announced that the Society now has 930 conferences in England and Wales. In 1934, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul at Shanghai, China, expended $6,609.70, about one-sixth of it for rice and $3,755 for weekly grants to needy cases. * * * The St. Peter's Catholic Chapel Car recently completed a tour through the Northern States to arouse interest in missionary work in North Carolina, where Catholics comprise but 8,000 out of a total population of 3,000,000. The car is a fully equipped chapel with a seating capacity of seventy-five. * * * The *Catholic Herald* reports that the second largest seminary in the world (the largest is Maynooth, Ireland) is the Byzantine seminary for the Ruthenians at Lwow, Poland. The Ruthenians or Ukrainians, who were among the first to return to communion with Rome after the schism of 1054, are by far the largest body of Catholics of the Eastern rite; there are 3,500,000 of them in Europe and America. * * * Archbishop Pizzardo told the 1,600 delegates, 900 of them nuns, at the Congress of the International Committee of Catholic Associations of Nurses at Vatican City that Catholic nurses should profit by a diligent study of the marvelous scientific discoveries of the present day.

The Nation.—The adjournment of Congress and the last-minute pressure of important legislation left the country momentarily a little dazed and wondering what would eventuate. Senator Long's eleventh-hour filibuster which prevented the passage of the Deficiency Bill necessary for the financing of the administration of the security program, the Utility Act, the National Labor Relations Board, the Railroad Retirement Act and the Guffey-Snyder Coal Law, caused much confusion which congressional leaders were seeking to straighten out in conference with the President. * * * Shortly before Congress adjourned, the President appointed Mr. John G. Winant, former Republican Governor of New Hampshire, chairman of the Social Security Board for the setting up of the national program of unemployment insurance and old age pensions. Mr. Winant was appointed in 1933 chairman of the board of inquiry into the cotton textile industry. The two other members of the Social Security Board appointed by the President were Mr. Arthur J. Altmeyer of Wisconsin, who at the time of his appointment was second assistant Secretary of Labor, and Mr. Vincent Morgan Miles, an attorney of Little Rock and Fort Smith, Arkansas. * * * Appointments to the new Labor Relations Board made by the President and confirmed by the Senate were Professor Joseph W. Madden of Pittsburgh, chairman, and Mr. Edwin S. Smith of Massachusetts and Mr. John M. Carmody of New York. * * * President Roosevelt broke all records for nominations during the last session of Congress, 14,998 names submitted and 14,926 confirmed, 5,000 more than the total for the two sessions of the first Roosevelt Congress. Only twelve appointees were rejected; the names of twenty-five were withdrawn by the White House and thirty-five were not acted upon. The latter will fill their positions until the next session of Congress. * * * The President sent a request to Congress leaders for study of means to reestablish desirable features of NRA by legislation at the next session.

The Wide World.—The United States has reaffirmed its arms embargo against both Italy and Ethiopia, dating it ahead to February 29. The most dramatic movements in the crisis during the past week were the concentration of British ships in the Mediterranean near Suez, the further garrisoning of Malta, and the order issued to high military officers to stay in the region of London. In Bolzano, Italy, in the midst of sham battles protecting the Brenner Pass, Mussolini held a Cabinet meeting and issued a statement trying to clarify his position. On September 4, when the League Council meets, Italy will present a long memorandum indicating that she has always had priority rights in Ethiopia, and that for the good of humanity she should exercise them forceably to civilize the nation. Italy assures Great Britain that she has no designs on her empire, her imperial communications or her dominant position along those lines. People should not bother themselves with Italian colonial affairs, unless they want another world war. The French Cabinet meanwhile gave Premiem Laval full authority to oppose sanctions at Geneva and to attempt his middle-of-the-road course, preserving the "Stresa front" on France, Italy and England against Germany. * * * The United States and the United Socialist Soviet Republic exchanged crisp notes concerning the recent meeting of the Communist International in Moscow. The United States felt the link between the Comintern and Russia too evident to debate about, and that the frank work of the Comintern to change our internal structure involved Russia in breaking her pledge of non-interference in our internal affairs. Russia refused to accept the protest since it "cannot take upon itself and has never taken upon itself obligations of

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any kind with regard to the Communist International." It is now up to us to indicate "the most serious consequences" our note anticipated if we received no satisfaction. * * * Yosuke Matsuoka, the new head of the South Manchuria Railway, told foreigners in general that his Japanese company regards its work in Manchuria and China as a purely business proposition, and that if he could get credit cheaper in other nations than his own, he would be delighted with international economic aid in developing the country along his right-of-way. This is one of numerous recent indications that the civilian leaders in Japan are growing more powerful in the affairs of the empire.

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Chaco Troubles.—Once the cheering at the termination of hostilities has subsided, as in November, 1918, or more recently on the signing of the Chaco truce last June, the long, arduous, often thankless task of drawing up peace terms begins. Negotiations between Paraguay and Bolivia have been no exception in manifesting the difficulties involved. The peace conference organized the disputed questions under four heads. Hugh S. Gibson, one of our most experienced diplomats and at present Ambassador to Brazil, was appointed chairman of the committee on exchange and repatriation of prisoners of war. Paraguay flatly rejected his humanitarian appeal for an exchange of prisoners and on the grounds of international law insisted that they be held until the peace had been signed. Mr. Gibson has already returned to his post at Rio de Janeiro. The second question, that of new treaties of friendship, commerce and navigation, was postponed at the behest of the Argentine delegation, who said they required more time to draw up the terms. The Peruvian delegation, seconded by the Bolivians, also secured the postponement of the question of war guilt and reparations, as any ruling on the matter might be an obstacle to the signing of peace. Finally the neutral commission that heard the territorial claims of Bolivia and Paraguay, separately and secretly, was so disheartened by the incompatibility of the rival claims that they did not even inform each delegation what the other wanted but decided to disband immediately. To complicate matters the Paraguayans have been encouraging a separatist movement in the province of Santa Cruz which at present with the province of Beni, also expected to secede, comprises one-sixth of Bolivia's present population. An official communiqué states that general negotiations will be resumed when the chairman of any committee informs the peace conference that the Bolivians and Paraguayans were approaching an agreement on any question.

The Neutrality Resolution.—Sweeping through the House without a roll-call and through the Senate by the overwhelming vote of 77 to 2, a resolution effective until February 29, 1936, and designed to maintain the neutrality of the United States in the event of any war, was sent to the President for his guidance in case of emergency before Congress meets again in January of next year. Most important is the mandatory first section, which reads: "Upon the outbreak or during the progress of war between, or among, two or more foreign States, the President shall proclaim such fact, and it shall thereafter be unlawful to export arms, ammunition or implements of war from any place in the United States, or possessions of the United States, to any port of such belligerent states, or to any neutral port for transshipment to, or for the use of, a belligerent country. The President shall by proclamation enumerate the arms, ammunition or implements of war. He may also from time to time extend the embargo to other states as and when they may become involved in such a war." Another section forbids American ships to carry arms or implements of war to ports of belligerents or to any port for transshipment. Discretionary authority is given the President to restrict or close territorial waters of the United States to submarines of belligerents and to prohibit American citizens from traveling, except at their own risk, on ships of belligerent nations, unless in flight from a country at war.

Public Utilities Bill.—The bitterly debated Utility Holding Company Control Bill was finally passed by both Houses of Congress and signed by the President. The so-called "death sentence" which had been demanded by the President, acceded by the Senate and resisted by the House, was finally compromised. Holding companies beyond the second degree must be eliminated after 1938 and the Securities and Exchange Commission is given the power to eliminate any beyond the first degree which it considers are not in the public interest. Opponents of the "death sentence" considered the compromise much too severe. Officials of public utility interests indicated that the act would be fought in the courts and would be made an issue in next year's presidential campaign. In general, the bill gives the federal government control over public utility holding companies, while operating companies will continue to be under state supervision. The Federal Power Commission receives authority to regulate rates, facilities and business practises by utilities doing interstate business, profits are forbidden in intra-system service and voting power must be distributed "equitably" among all the stockholders. The secondary holding companies which may be allowed at the discretion of the Commission are those controlling a group of power systems adjoining each other which might be too small to operate economically independently. Mr. J. D. Ross, recently appointed by the President to the Securities and Exchange Commission, has been an advocate of public ownership of utilities.

Congress Closes.—Congress adjourned at midnight, August 26-27, preferring to let the Third Deficiency Bill go rather than listen longer to Senator Long, who had been filibustering since half past six in the evening, or pass the Deficiency Bill with a rider giving $.12 loans for a pound of cotton and $.90 loans for a bushel of wheat. Approximately $93,000,000 will have to be found in other appropriations for running the agencies the bill was supposed to provide for, and about $76,000,000 for the inauguration of the social security measures. During

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the last week of the session, the President signed three important measures: the A.A.A. Amendment Act, the Banking Act of 1935, and the Utility Holding Company Control Act. At the end, eleven important acts awaited his signature: the Frazier-Lemke Farm Mortgage, the Guffey-Snyder Coal, Gold Clause, Tobacco Inspection, Federal Alcohol Control, Neutrality, Oil and Gas Prospecting, Tennessee Valley, Railroad Reorganization, Wagner-Crosser Rail Retirement, and Revenue. Seven specially authorized Senate investigations hold over and eight House surveys, and these do not include the telephone investigation set up by regular act of Congress or the House inquiry into national defense. They are concerned with lobbies, World War international banking, the wool industry, federal land and water policies, bankruptcies and receiverships, silver purchasing, administration of the Virgin Islands, chain stores and especially their lobbies, real estate reorganizations, air transportation and mail, New York flood conditions, the conservation of wild life, the patent situation and campaign expenditures in the next elections. In spite of the session of 225 days and the appropriation of $10,250,000,000, congressmen went home with the prospect of a still immense amount of work to be done during the next, pre-election, session.

Young Republicans and Democrats.—Representatives of the Young Democrats of America, whom James Roosevelt, secretary, says number 3,000,000, met August 23 and 24 in Milwaukee. Their opinions and suggestions were not reported fully as were the words the President addressed them. They were apparently loyal to President Roosevelt and favorable to activist policies in economics and politics. Most opposition was voiced to the loose manner in which patronage has been distributed to non-party progressives. The President spoke to them on the radio, emphasizing his opposition to "Tories" and his experimental attitude in meeting changing economic, social and political "facts," while holding to "principles." He expressly noted the present lack of opportunity, education and the essential needs of civilization. He asked for "government cooperation to make the system of free enterprise work, to provide that minimum security. . . ." He proclaimed that "we cherish the elective form of democratic government." In Yellowstone Park, on August 25 and 26, Western Republicans met to start a young group which will defeat the Democrats in 1936. Again, all the publicity was given to words older men addressed to the youths. "Constitution," "dictator," "patronage," "socialistic," were words used freely. The farmers, and especially the Western farmers, were said to hold the balance in present politics, and the Republicans believe these farmers are both "liberal" and "individualistic." Senator Borah was spoken of as an ideal candidate for them. Representative Bertrand B. Snell delivered a radio talk as a reply to the President's. He deplored public debts, taxes and attacks on the Constitution. He spoke for the "American system," based on "aristocracy of talent and character," and indicated it should be chosen in place of the "new economic system which the New Deal and the present administration is offering as a substitute." The latter tends to "eliminate the element of private resourcefulness and to have the government assume functions heretofore carried on by private enterprise and exercised by the individual."

Colors of Earth.—Astronomers at the Lowell Observatory, Flagstaff, Arizona, who made a special study at the time of the recent eclipse of the moon, report that the earth is surrounded by a bright, vari-colored halo and, when seen from a distance, must appear about the fanciest place in our visible universe. Mr. C. W. Tombaugh, discoverer of the new planet Pluto, observing the colors on the face of the moon when it was totally within the earth's shadow, saw copper, pink, blue, yellow, orange and green refractions of the sun's rays bent through the earth's atmosphere. Dr. C. O. Lampland, with a radiometer, measured the energy of the light and Mr. E. C. Sliper registered the colors through a fifteen-inch reflecting telescope on photographic plates with the use of red, yellow and violet filters. Nearest the earth was a sunset redness, as only the red rays passed through the lower atmosphere. Outside the red ring was a blue one and the indications were that the colors of the rainbow shone between the two. The red light predominated and the earth's refractions gave more light on the darkened moon than the full moon gives to terrestrial nights. It is possible that the rays refracted through the gradually thinning atmosphere from the red nearest the earth to the blue of the tenuous upper atmosphere, produce the intervening spectrum colors in concentric ring formation.

* * * *

Distribution of National Income.—The figures we printed recently which had been announced by the Department of Commerce showed that in 1934 our national income rose 11 percent above that for 1933 to $49,440,000,000 (the 1929 figure was $78,576,000,000), and that of this total, labor received 67.5 percent as compared with only 65 percent in 1929. This interpretation was vigorously attacked by labor, led by President Green of the American Federation of Labor. He called it improper to lump together all wages and salaries. He pointed out that "from 1929 to 1932 wages in specified industries declined 59 percent, while the salaries of management fell only 40 percent." Taking wage earners in what he considered a more exact sense he said: "While these wage earners in 1934 received only 52 percent of their 1929 income, property owners received 61.4 percent and men in business for themselves received 65.2 percent of their 1929 income. . . . In 1929, wage earners in the above industries received 21.9 percent of the total national income; by 1932 their share had fallen to 14.5 percent, and in 1934 their share was still only 18.1 percent. . . . They have lost more than $37,600,000,000 during the five years of depression, a greater financial loss than any other group. And $2,030,000,000 in work relief wages have been given them to compensate for their loss." These figures are based on the lot of 12,000,000 workers, over one-fourth of all persons employed in 1929.

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Communications

AT HOME IN NEW ORLEANS

San Francisco, Calif.

TO the Editor: True knowledge leads to breeding, and breeding engenders politeness—a fact obviously felt by the author of "At Home in New Orleans" and overlooked in Claude Macksey's interesting letter. This leads me to write a few words about the deep South and all the talk about the poor misjudged and oppressed Negro who at last is rising and marching with his head rather than his feet, led by his highest representatives rather than his lowest.

Many a Southerner knows from personal experience a "darky of the old school," one perhaps considered in the light of today the lowest representative of his race, who was in every sense a true Christian saint respected and beloved and indeed often venerated by all who knew him. A Negro's innate sense of faith and hope and charity, the three cardinal virtues, has often inspired a white university man or woman toward better things while the Negro himself has not been able to write his own name. To a Catholic which is the more important and which leads to the greatest goal, the languages and sciences or the virtues of faith, hope and charity?

The old-time ignorant lowly Negro often has a feeling for breeding, an instinct for politeness, a simple dignity that would shame many a Northern parvenu with university education to spare. The modern rising educated Negro of today has generally lost those qualities so characteristic of his race a generation ago.

What would Our Blessed Mother and her cousin Elizabeth and Martha and Mary say to the modern tragedy of having to do housework perforce through ignorance, having to help another build a home and run it, take care of little children and all such "unimportant" details of life while the classrooms of language, history and science are not full?

Is Claude Macksey showing the Negro's superiority by selling his birthright of a God-given sense of humor, an instinct for human philosophy, a sensitiveness for the simple joys and sorrows of life, a depth of sympathy and an understanding faith, for a mess of the white man's university education?

Isn't it an almost Catholic Christian precept that each and every one of us can be superior only in his own particular milieu? The Negro race can be and is superior in certain lines or in certain individuals by remaining true to itself and developing and strengthening its own virtues and abilities whether they be mending levees, cooking, nursing, singing, preaching or teaching, etc. But let them compete with the white man to be as the white man, or the yellow man to be as the yellow man, or with the red man to be like him, and he cannot win. Rather let him compete with any race, if he must compete with another race, in trying to be a true Christian, and his superiority has a great chance of showing itself.

LUCY A. STILLMAN.

A REMINDER

Oshkosh, Wis.

TO the Editor: Your editorial note at top of page 376, issue of August 16, is a striking picture of the poverty and degradation, the misery and vice, existing in American life today. No one can paint the picture better in as few words. But in respect to definite remedies you continue strangely silent.

There are those among your readers who wonder that you seem to avoid any possible reference to the huge sums, billions of dollars, paid as ground rent to landlords, and for which they make no economic return. Over fifty years ago, in a book entitled "Progress and Poverty," the present condition was described as accurately and eloquently as if it were written last year. A proposed permanent remedy was worked out in detail that relatively few have examined and fewer understand.

It is true that Henry George's remedy involves the abolition of landlordism and of the private appropriation of ground rent by landlords. But most of our ancestors were driven out of Europe by landlordism. When European conditions are gradually spreading over this country, and the depth of poverty here is approaching that of Europe, may it not be that we can dispense with landlordism, and use ground rent to aid in abolishing poverty?

One would think you might at least advise a careful reading of "Progress and Poverty" by those interested in the problem, especially by those who do not think the present attempted and proposed remedies are either effective or permanent. We are seeking a means "to make all families secure." Do we want to find it?

JOHN HARRINGTON.

ORTHODOX

Ottawa, Canada.

TO the Editor: Since the appearance of my letter criticizing the application of the term "Orthodox" to dissident Abyssinians and Armenians, I have been informed by Very Reverend Monsignor O'Reilly, the National Secretary of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, who has just returned from an extended tour of the countries in which his association operates, that Monophysites do now use the term "Orthodox" to designate themselves. This he found to be true of the Copts in Egypt and of the Gregorian Armenians in Jerusalem and elsewhere. While there is no historic basis for such a usage, which seems to be of recent origin, these people appear to regard "Orthodox" as a term distinguishing Eastern dissidents from Catholics. He suggests that the Monophysites appropriate the term "Orthodox" in somewhat the same fashion as some Anglicans do the word "Catholic." This is a very interesting matter to which, in a wide course of reading, extending over a period of some twenty-five or thirty years, I have never seen any previous reference. Nevertheless, I still plead for a correct use of the word "Orthodox" when employed as a religious designation.

W. L. SCOTT.

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Books

Christian Feminism

Women and the Catholic Church Yesterday and Today, by Olga Hartley. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 5 s.

THIS exceptionally interesting book was written to refute the contention that the Church has impeded the emancipation of women. Miss Hartley holds that it was Christianity's revolutionary teaching about women which prevented its acceptance by non-European races, a more plausible thesis than that of the German philosophic scientist, Dr. Wilhelm Haas, who claims that Catholicism's triumph in the West was due to its correspondence with the distinguishing trait of the European mind, namely, a genius for organization.

The author makes much of the double monasteries of the Middle Ages in which abbesses held temporal sway over monks as well as nuns. Other medieval religious institutions for men and women were frequently under the rule of a woman. The hospital of St. Bartholomew, Bristol, for example, which was run by a community of men and women who elected their superior, was governed from 1340 to 1386 by prioresses. Whereas women held as a rule subordinate or auxiliary positions in medieval merchant and craft guilds, in the numerous religious guilds, whose good works were legion, "the bretheren and sisteren" enjoyed equal rights. Under the feudal system women frequently held positions of wealth and power, and revealed at times a skill in warfare which is surprising to our more orderly age. Miss Hartley's picture of the typical lady of the manor is more like that which Luchaire painted a number of years ago than that which is presented for our admiring gaze by the romantic school of historians. This latter group would also like to forget that the business of brewing was often a feminine monopoly in the Middle Ages. In the field of education, we have only begun to recapture the spirit which gave women professorial chairs at papal universities and made them appropriate patrons of the arts.

The injury done to the status of women by the disruption of Christendom and the dissolution of religious orders is clearly brought out. The author compares the social ineptitude of English women in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with the contemporary achievements of French women in education and social welfare, a contrast which reached its climax in the nineteenth century: "The pivot on which the feminist movement turned to success was . . . the desire to serve." The Sisters of Charity, nursing the incapacitated soldiers of the French army in the Crimean War, blazed the trail for Florence Nightingale.

All causes have their excesses. The author looks to Catholicism to curb those of the feminist movement which sometimes errs by identifying the welfare of women with such evils as easy divorce. Miss Hartley has written much which is provocative if not always convincing. Her views on usury are debatable and her criticisms of the drawbacks of an industrial society as

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compared with an agricultural one are a little too severe. Our mechanized era has given numbers of women comfort, leisure and opportunities for intellectual advancement.

Books like this should find their way into the libraries of schools and colleges. There is a crying need for such material as collateral reading in our history courses.

GEORGIANA PUTNAM MCENTEE.

Naturally Good

A Few Foolish Ones, by Gladys Hasty Carroll. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

FOR ONCE, a book's title is an organic part of its gesture as a whole. "Foolish ones, Gus called the birds, these left behind when all the rest had flown off to some place where picking was easier than here. Tough little fellows; they dipped and soared as if it were summer, or bit and tore at the bushes in a frenzy of industry, or sat dully on an icy branch with foot tucked in among their feathers, depending on the kind of spirit they had. Foolish ones, perhaps, to hang on here, the few of them alone, just because this was the place where they had pricked the shell; but they seemed to be making out."

The mood and picture conveyed in this paragraph, enlarged and deepened to human size, is the mood and picture of the book's final effect on the reader. All that Gus Bragdon, the central character of the story, sees and feels concerning these wintering birds, we ourselves are made to feel of Gus and his companions, through 384 pages of throbbingly human narrative. Gus is, without doubt, the focal point of the story, but Kate, his daughter, is its hero. She is that almost impossible achievement, a convincing fictional character whose goodness is purely natural goodness. Some recent attempts to portray heroic characters of this type, without motivating their generosity and fortitude by any influence outside and beyond themselves, have failed to persuade; but Kate Bragdon's purely native goodness is acceptable as a thing that may, quite inexplicably, here and there exist. Before Mrs. Carroll is through with this character she does, it is true, in a page or so of quite beautiful writing, make some slight effort to explain Kate through her love of nature and vague pantheistic fancies, but it is both unnecessary and too late.

The novel in synopsis might sound discouragingly more like a genealogical treatise than a story, and it would do an injustice to the book. Too many names—fascinating and exciting though they be in themselves—do clutter up the opening pages. But one quickly forgets this early annoyance and is swept along on the pulsing tide of other lives almost as though one were living the book and not reading it. More can hardly be said in praise of a work of fiction, especially of one handicapped, as this one is for the average reader, by dialect, and the spreading of the interest over half a hundred personalities. But briefly, it is an absorbing account of the births, lives and deaths of several dozen human beings in one small rural community during the years from 1870 to 1930, and more particularly of Gus Bragdon: his romantic marriage, his prosaic, long and (to his own mind and to those about

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him) successful life, and his stark hours of dying. But Gus is only the hub, wheeled around as he would be were he a living soul by other lives, other dramas: men, women, children, animals, woods, skies, and dimly but quite perceptibly the outer world to the farthest reaches of the earth's surface. The telling ends, however, with these surfaces. There is no hint of the under and the over—of the supernatural as it penetrates ordinary human life. The story neatly excludes these (one would think almost inevitable) phenomena, closing upon itself smoothly, without a wrinkle. Artistically, since there is no wrinkle, we cannot call this pure naturalism a weakness. If we deplore it, it is our affair and none of the author's. This is a notable novel, and because it is her second notable novel we may rest assured that we have in Mrs. Carroll an American novelist to be proud of.

ETHEL COOK ELIOT.

Minute Futility

The Wolf at the Door, by Robert Francis; translated by Françoise Delisle. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.50.

THIS enigmatic novel has been crowned with the *Prix Femina* in France and hailed by distinguished critics, both French and English, as a marvel. The author was twenty-four when he wrote it. By the distinguished critics he has been likened to Alain Fournier, Dickens, Hans Andersen, the Brontës and Lewis Carroll. It might also be said that there are vivid resemblances to Proust, William Faulkner, Gertrude Stein and Knute Hamsun: Proust because of the exceptional sensitiveness and minuteness of observation; Faulkner because of the intense tragic atmosphere which is often sprung from the apparently meaningless circumstantialities ad infinitum in which a tortured soul is lost as in a delirious sea; Gertrude Stein because of the constant centrifugal action of perceptions flying out like sparks toward infinity on lines that never will converge; and Hamsun, particularly in his earlier manifestations, as in "Hunger," because of the compensating actions of phantasy when the pressure of pain or sorrow has been too constant.

Although the three little girls on a poverty-stricken farm, who are the chief characters of the story, have their special time and place, there is, I believe, a classic universality to their experiences and world, except for certain grotesques. The book is beautifully Catholic in parts—brave, good and reasonable parts—and preponderantly, like life, it is materialistic irrationalism, the cruelties, egocentric manias and cacaphony of oppositions of dialectical materialisms personalized (as they inevitably must be) seeking their survivals and engrandizements. There are stretches of maundering stream of consciousness, as well as chance gems, delicate pastels and filigrees of prose poetry, and wonderful bits, as the child's imagining of her own funeral, such as never was on land or sea. Like any completely non-rational work of art, it leaves one with a disturbing nostalgia for a vision of a planned universe and haunted with a sense of futility.

FREDERIC THOMPSON.

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Briefer Mention

Education and Social Progress, by Charles H. Judd. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.00.

THIS book is on the whole explanatory and historical rather than argumentative. Dr. Judd, head of the department of education, Chicago University, aims to make clear "the way in which American schools . . . succeed or fail in their efforts to serve the society which is responsible for their being." Emphasis falls on the gradual removal of the functions of education, teaching and administrative, from lay to professional hands—a process that has been accepted by society because of its naturalness. There is a hint of recognition that education has become professionalized to a degree which might justify the attitude of public officials who have borne down with particular harshness upon school budgets during the depression. Dr. Judd does not march with the Frontier Thinkers who urge that the teaching profession assume the rôle of leadership and direct the reorganization of the economic and political systems. He is cautious about the issue of federal support of education, but more vigorous in praise of the movement to consolidate the numerous, scattered, inefficient one-room rural schools. His answer to the riddle of what to do about controversial social questions in the school room is: there is no justification for evading them; objective, scientific treatment of disagreements is possible and is the safest preparation of young people for life in the community.

The Political Philosophies of Plato and Hegel, by M. B. Fostor. New York: Oxford University Press. $3.00.

MR. FOSTER, who believes that the philosophic study of the history of philosophy is the primary business of a philosopher—in which view we heartily concur—offers a very readable essay in "The Republic" and the "Philosophie des Rechts." The method employed is intelligently critical dialectic, which establishes first the shortcomings of the Platonic teaching in the light of what the "state" has since come to be, and second the fundamental logical faults of Hegel's analysis. It is an excellent little book to spur one's own laggard interest in government as an idea, and seems in addition a work of unusually fine quality.

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